

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 03938 01 OF 02 211207Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 NEAE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00
PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 IO-13 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /088 W
-----211210Z 022881 /11

O 211030Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2000
INFO AMCONSUL BOMBAY IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL MADRAS IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DACCA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE
CINCPAC HONOLULU IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 3938

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, IN
SUBJ: INDIAN ELECTIONS: WHAT HAPPENS NEXT

REF: NEW DELHI 380Y

SUMMARY: FINAL RESULTS FROM UP AND BIHAR MAY NOT BE
KNOWN UNTIL SOMETIME TOMORROW, BUT THE JANATA LANDSLIDE
IN THE NORTH ROLLS ON. JANATA PARTY MAY GAIN AN OUTRIGHT
MAJORITY AND BE ABLE, IF IT WISHES, TO FORM A GOVERNMENT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 03938 01 OF 02 211207Z

WITHOUT ENTERING A COALITION WITH THE CFD. IF JANATA
GOES IT ALONE, CFD COULD REMERGE WITH A CONGRESS NOW
APPARENTLY BEREFT OF MRS GANDHI. JANATA, CFD AND MANY
CONGRESSMEN COULD ALSO FORM GOVERNMENT OF "NATIONAL
RECONCILIATION" TO UNDO EMERGENCY'S MISDEEDS. POLITICAL
ALIGNMENT WILL BE FLUID IN COMING DAYS AND WEEKS AND
J.P. NARAYAN WILL UNDOUBTEDLY PLAY KEY ROLE INFLUENCING

WHATEVER GOVERNMENT FINALLY EMERGES. MRS GANDHI HAS
THUS FAR REMAINED SILENT, ALTHOUGH RUMORS AROUND OF HER
IMMINENT RESIGNATION. THE JANATA/CFD IS RIDING TO
VICTORY IN NORTH INDIA ON THE NEGATIVE MOOD OF HOSTILITY
TO MRS GANDHI, HER SON AND EMERGENCY MEASURES. HOWEVER,
GIVEN THE WIDELY DIVERGENT IDEOLOGIES OF ITS COMPONENTS,
THE JANATA MAY FACE ACUTE PROBLEMS IN FORMULATING
GOVERNMENT POLICIES. THE NEW LEADERS WILL PROBABLY BE
PREOCCUPIED WITH DOMESTIC CONCERNS FOR MONTHS AHEAD.
MANY CONGRESS STATE GOVERNMENTS ARE LIKELY TO FALL.
NEW STATE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS WILL PROBABLY BE HELD IN
MOST STATES OVER THE NEXT SIX MONTHS. THESE COULD PROVOKE
RIVALRIES AND RIFTS WITHIN THE JANATA. MOST JANATA
LEADERS AND KEY ELEMENTS ARE GENERALLY "ANTI-COMMUNIST",
WHILE THE CFD HAS A STRONG DOSE OF LEFTIST CONGRESS
ELEMENTS. THE NATURE OF NEW GOI POLICIES WILL LARGELY
DEPEND ON WHETHER JANATA FORMS A GOVERNMENT ON ITS OWN
OR WITH THE CFD. THE TWO COMMUNIST PARTIES MAY EMERGE
FROM ELECTIONS WITH DIMINISHED INFLUENCE ON THE NATIONAL
SCENE, ALTHOUGH THE CPI WILL AGAIN BE A KEY ELEMENT
IN KERALA'S RULING COALITION GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. FINAL RESULTS FROM UP AND BIHAR ARE NOT LIKELY TO
COME IN UNTIL LATER TODAY OR EARLY TOMORROW MORNING,
BUT THE JANATA LANDSLIDE IN THE NORTH ROLLS ON. AS OF
1500 HOURS LOCAL, CONGRESS HAS FAILED TO WIN A SINGLE
SEAT IN BIHAR OR UP. SHOULD THIS TREND CONTINUE, IT
IS POSSIBLE THAT JANATA BY ITSELF COULD SECURE ON
ABSLUTE MAJORITY IN THE LOK SABHA. BY LATEST COUNT,
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 03938 01 OF 02 211207Z

IT HAS WON 146 SEATS OUTRIGHT, WHILE THE CFD HAD
PICKED UP ONLY SEVEN.

2. KEY QUESTION IS WHETHER THE JANATA MAY ATTEMPT TO
FORM A GOVERNMENT ON ITS OWN, WITHOUT REFERENCE TO
THE CFD. JANATA LEADERS ARE NOW GATHERING IN DELHI FOR
3 DAY POLICY MEETING AT WHICH CFD GENERAL SECRETARY BAHUGUNA
WILL BE PRESENT. ELECTED MPS OF BOTH PARTIES ARE DUE
TO GATHER AT RAJGHAT EVENING OF MARCH 23 TO JOINTLY
PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE TO "GANDHIAN PRINCIPLES". AS THE
FIRST INDICATIONS OF JANATA VICTORIES CAME IN LAST
NIGHT, CFD LEADER H.N. BAHUGUNA DENIED THAT RIFTS WERE
DEVELOPING BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES, SAYING THAT THEIR
COMMON BOND WAS THE DESIRE TO GIVE INDIA A "CLEAN, GOOD,
STABLE GOVERNMENT"; THEY HAD COOPERATED IN THE CAM-
PAIGN AND WOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO.

3. NONETHELESS, ONE POTENTIAL SCENARIO IS THAT A
MAJORITY JANATA WOULD FORM A GOVERNMENT PRESUMABLY

UNDER LEADERSHIP OF MORARJI DESAI, WHILE THE CFD AND THE CONGRESS WOULD SOMEHOW REGROUP AS A "PURIFIED" CONGRESS LED BY JAGJIVAN RAM NOW THAT MRS GANDHI HAS APPARENTLY BEEN REMOVED FROM CONTENTION FOR PARTY LEADER-
#80. (JAGJIVAN RAM HAS LONG STATED THAT HIS QUARREL WAS ONLY WITH THE CONGRESS LEADERSHIP AND NOT WITH THE CONGRESS ITSELF.) RAM WOULD THEN BECOME THE LEADER OF A STRONG BUT "FRIENDLY" OPPOSITION IN PARLIAMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 03938 02 OF 02 211230Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 NEAE-00 CIAE-00
DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00
PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 IO-13 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /088 W
-----211234Z 023021 /17

O 211030Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2001

INFO AMCONSUL BOMBAY IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL MADRAS IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DACCA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

CINCPAC HONOLULU IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 3938

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

4. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY WOULD BE FOR THE JANATA, CFD AND ANTI-MRS GANDHI CONGRESS MP'S TO COALESCE INTO A SORT OF "GRAND COALITION", A GOVERNMENT OF "NATIONAL RECONCILIATION". TO UNDO THE MISDEEDS OF THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, INCLUDING REPEAL OF THE 42ND AMENDMENT AND OTHER EMERGENCY ACTS. CONGRESS MPS WHO HAD STONGLY SUPPORTED MRS. GANDHI WOULD BE REFUSED ENTRY AND COULD WIND UP BEING ISOLATED.

CHOICE OF RAM OR DESAI TO LEAD COALITION COULD BE HIGHLY CONTENTIOUS. THE STABILITY OF THIS GRAND COALITION WOULD PRESUMABLY WEAKEN AFTER ITS INITIAL OBJECTIVES HAD BEEN CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 03938 02 OF 02 211230Z

ACHIEVED AND IN THE FACE OF STAE ELECTIONS LATER THIS YEAR. (SEE PARA 10).

5. IF THE JANATA MISSES A MAJORITY OR GAINS ONLY A SLIM ONE SUSCEPTIBLE TO DEFECTIONS, IT WOULD PRESUMABLY FORM A GOVERNMENT WITH THE CFD'S ASSISTANCE. DEFECTORS FROM THE CONGRESS WOULD SWARM TO SUCH A COALITION.

6. THERE IS A STRONG PROBABILITY THAT POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS WILL SHIFT RAPIDLY IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, WEEKS, AND EVEN MONTHS. GIVEN THE JANATA TRENDS, MOST DEFECTIONS ARE LIKELY TO COME FROM THE CONGRESS RANKS, BUT WE CANNOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF MP'S GOING IN THE OTHER DIRECTION AS WELL. ALSO, WITH RAM AND DESAI AS PRIME CONTENDERS FOR THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP, THE ROLE OF J.P. NARAYAN AS THE UNQUESTIONED ELDER STATESMAN OF BOTH PARTIES WILL BE CRUCIAL. J.P. WAS SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE IN DELHI MARCH 23 FOR THE AJGHAT CEREMONY BUT RECENT PRESS REPORTS INDICATE THAT ILL HEALTH MAY KEEP HIM IN PATNA SOMEWHAT LONGER.

7. MRS GANDHI HAS REMAINED SILENT AND REPORTEDLY IS STILL CONFERRING WITH CONGRESS LEADERS AT HER RESIDENCE. THE CAPITAL HAS BEEN THICK WITH RUMORS OF HER RESIGNATION DURING THE PAST TWELVE HOURS, AND THE "INDIAN EXPRESS" THIS MORNING REPORTED THAT SHE WOULD RESIGN ON THE MORNING OF MARCH 22 AND THAT ACTING PRESIDENT JATTI WILL ASK HER TO STAY ON IN A CARE-TAKER CAPACITY UNTIL A NEW GOVERNMENT IS FORMED. THE GERMANS HAVE HEARD THAT SHE DRAFTED A LETTER OF RESIGNATION LAST NIGHT BUT HAS DELAYED DELIVERING IT.

8. THE MOOD WHICH BROUGHT THE OPPOSITION VICOTRY WAS A NEGATIVE ONE OF HOSTILITY TO MRS GANDHI, HER SON, AND THE CONGRESS IN NORTH INDIA. THE OPPOSITION'S SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN WAS ESSENTIALLY BASED ON AN ATTACK CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 03938 02 OF 02 211230Z

ON WHAT CONGRESS HAD DONE. THE PEOPLE VOTED NOT "FOR" OPPOSITION PROGRAMS, BUT AGAINST THOSE OF MRS GANDHI. THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO SYSTEMATIZE ITS THINKING

IN WHAT NEW POLICIES IT WANTS TO FOLLOW, AND IT MAY BE MORE DIFFICULT TO DO THIS THAN THERE WAS IN FORMULATING A PARTY MANIFESTO A MONTH AGO WHICH NO ONE BOTHERED TO DEBATE OR CONTEST VERY SERIOUSLY WITHIN JANATA RANKS. AS WE HAVE NOTED SEVERAL TIMES BEFORE, THE JANATA CONSISTS OF MARXIST SOCIALISTS, SMALL FARMERS, WELL-TO-DO BUSINESSMEN, HINDU NATIONALISTS, MUSLIM CONSERVATIVES, AND A STRONG AND CENTRAL CORE OF GANDHIAN SOCIALISTS. (SEPTELS WILL SUMMARIZE BRIEFLY WHERE SOME OF THESE FIGURES AND THEIR PARTIES HAVE STOOD ON BASIC FOREIGN AND ECONOMIC POLICY ISSUES IN RECENT YEARS.) THEY HAVE FREQUENTLY FOUGHT AS VIROGOUSLY AGAINST ONE ANOTHER ON POLICY AS THEY HAVE STOOD TOGETHER, THE LATTER MOST OFTEN IN ORDER TO OPPOSE MRS GANDHI AND CONGRESS.

9. THE JANATA PARTY, WITH ONLY A FEW EXCEPTIONS, CONSISTS OF INDIVIDUALS AND PARTY ELEMENTS WHICH HAVE FOR YEARS BEEN "ANTI-COMMUNIST". THE CFD HAS A HEAVY DOSE OF STRONG LEFTIST CONGRESS ELEMENTS (EXCEPT FOR JAGJIVAN RAM) AND IS UNSYMPATHETIC TO GANDHIAN ECONOMICS OR SOCIAL POLICIES. THE KIND OF POLICIES A NEW GOVT WILL FOLLOW WILL BE SIGNAFICIANTLY AFFECTED BY WHETHER THE JANATA FORMS A GOVT ALONE OR TOGETHER WITH THE CFD. THE POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IS UNCERTAIN AT THIS POINT. THE CPI AT PRESENT HAS 7 AND THE CPM 5 SEATS FOR SURE BUT BOTH PARTIES COULD EXPECT SOME MORE SEATS IN BIHAR, WEST BENGAL OR ORISSA. AT THIS POINT, IT WOULD NOT SEEM THAT THE SUPPORT OF EITHER PATY WILL BE NEEDED FOR A SOLID GOVT TO BE FORMED, AND THE INFLUENCE OF BOTH PARTIES WOULD SEEM TO HAVE BEEN DIMINISHED EXCEPT IN KERALA WHERE THE CPI WILL AGAIN BE A KEY CONSTITUENT OF A RULING STATE GOVT COALITION.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NEW DE 03938 02 OF 02 211230Z

10. WE WOULD EXPECT THAT, ASIDE FROM A DISMANTLING OF EMERGENCY LEGISLATION AND POSSIBLY LAUNCHING A SERIES OF INVESTIGATIONS OF POLITICAL ACTIONS OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS, THE NEW LEADERS MAY STUMBLE OVER AGREED POSITIONS ON MANY OTHER ISSUES. DOMESTIC POLITICS WILL IN ALL EVENTS CONTINUE TO ABSORB MANY OF THE LEADERS FOR MONTHS AHEAD. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE CONGRESS DEFEAT, MANY OF THE CURRENT CONGRESS STATE GOVERNMENTS WILL PROBABLY EITHER FALL OR BE PARALYZED. STATE ELECTIONS WILL PROBABLY BE CALLED BY THE FALL IN MOST STATES. THERE WILL BE INTENSIVE ACTIVITY IN THE NEXT SIX MONTHS TO ENSURE THAT THE FORMER OPPOSITION PARTIS ARE IN A POSITION TO REINFORCE THEIR NATIONAL SUCCESS IN LOCAL ELECTIONS. THE POTENTIAL FOR FALLINGS-OUT AND RIVALRIES WITHIN THE JANATA WILL BE HIGH IN THIS PROCESS.

SCHNEIDER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ELECTION RESULTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 21-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977NEWDE03938
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770096-0214
Format: TEL
From: NEW DELHI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770339/aaaabhrn.tel
Line Count: 279
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 67abd4b4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 NEW DELHI 38
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3046600
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: INDIAN ELECTIONS: WHAT HAPPENS NEXT
TAGS: PINT, IN
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/67abd4b4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009